Democratic

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"I cannot doubt that you will unanimously assert the freedom of election and vindicate your exclusive right to choose your representatives. But other questions have been started, on which your determination should be equally clear and unanimous. Let it be impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled into your children, that the liberty of the press is the palladium of all civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman, and that the right of juries to return a general verdict, in all cases whatsoever, is an essential part of our Constitution, not to be controlled or limited by judges, nor in any shape questionable by the Legislature. The power of Kings, Lords, and Commons is not an arbitrary power. They are the trustees, not the owners of the estate."—JUNIUS.

UNION DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

FOR PRESIDENT,

GEO. B. McCLELLAN, OF NEW JERSEY.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT,

GEO. H. PENDLETON, OF OHIO.

ELECTORAL TICKET.

[ELECTION TO BE HELD ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1864.]

STATE AT LARGE.

FRANK WOLFORD, of Casey.
THORNTON F. MARSHALL, of Bracken.

First District—B. F. DUKE, of McCracken.
Second District—B. L. RITTER, of Christian.
Third District—J. T. WINFREY, of Cumberland.
Fourth District—J. P. BARBOUR, of Washington.
Fifth District—W. F. BULLOCK, of Jefferson.
Sixth District—A. H. WARD, of Harrison.
Seventh District—GEO. S. SHANKLIN, of Jessamine.
Eighth District—W. A. HOSKINS, of Garrard.
Ninth District—HARRISON TAYLOR, of Mason.

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

"TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN."

Abraham Lincoln, of March 4th, 1861, and Abraham Lincoln, of July 18th, 1864, cut the following figure:

Lincoln's Inaugural, March 4th, 1861.

I declare that I have no purpose, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have NO LAWFUL RIGHT TO DO SO, and have NO INCLINATION TO DO SO. * * The RIGHT of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment EXCLUSIVELY, is ESSENTIAL to the balance of power on which the perfection and ENDURANCE of our political fabric depend.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Lincoln to the Rebel Commissioners, July 18th, 1864.

Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and THE ABANDONMENT OF SLAVERY, and comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war with the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive Government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on substantial and collateral points; and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

THE CRITTENDEN RESOLUTION,

ADOPTED BY CONGRESS ON THE 22D OF JULY, 1861.

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in revolt against the constitutional government, and in arms around the Capital; that in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the *supremacy* of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease.

EN. McCLELLAN'S HARRISON'S LANDING LETTER TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Those who pretend to fear that with the success of McClel-
n the country will be dragged into a dishonorable peace
ould refresh themselves by reading his Harrison's Landing
tter to the President of the United States. We reproduce it
re:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
CAMP NEAR HARRISON'S LANDING, VA., July 7, 1862.

MR. PRESIDENT: You have been fully informed that the rebel
my is in our front, with the purpose of overwhelming us by
tacking our positions, or reducing us by blocking our river
mmunications. I cannot but regard our condition as crit-
al, and I earnestly desire, in view of possible contingencies,
lay before your Excellency, for your private consideration,
y general views concerning the existing state of the rebellion,
though they do not strictly relate to the situation of this army,
strictly come within the scope of my official duties. These
ews amount to convictions, and are deeply impressed upon
y mind and heart. Our cause must never be abandoned; it
the cause of free institutions and self-government. The Con-
tution and the Union must be preserved, whatever may be
e cost in time, treasure, or blood. If secession is successful,
her dissolutions are clearly to be seen in the future. Let
ither military disaster, political faction, nor foreign war,
ake your settled purpose to enforce the equal operation of
e laws of the United States upon the people of every State.
The time has come when the Government must determine
on a civil and military policy covering the whole ground of
ir national trouble. The responsibility of determining, de-
aring, and supporting such civil and military policy, and of
recting the whole course of national affairs in regard to the
bellion, must now be assumed and exercised by you, or our
use will be lost. The Constitution gives you power sufficient
en for the present terrible exigency.

This rebellion has assumed the character of war; as such it
ould be regarded; and it should be conducted upon the high-
t principles known to Christian civilization. It should not
a war looking to the subjugation of the people of any State
any event. It should not be at all a war upon population,
it against armed forces and political organizations. Neither
nfiscation of property, political executions of persons, terri-
rial organization of States, or forcible abolition of slavery,
ould be contemplated for a moment. In prosecuting the
ar, all private property and unarmed persons should be
rictly protected, subject only to the necessity of military ope-
tions. All private property taken for military use should be
id or receipted for; pillage and waste should be treated as

high crimes; all unnecessary trespass sternly prohibited; offensive demeanor by the military toward citizens promt rebuked. Military arrests should not be tolerated, excep places where active hostilities exist, and oaths not required enactments, constitutionally made, should be neither dema nor received. Military government should be confined to preservation of public order and the protection of polit rights. Military power should not be allowed to inter with the relations of servitude, either by supporting or pairing the authority of the master, except for suppres disorder, as in other cases. Slaves contraband under the of Congress, seeking military protection, should receiv The right of the Government to appropriate permanently t own service claims to slave labor should be asserted, and right of the owner to compensation therefor should recognized.

This principle might be extended, upon grounds of mili necessity and security, to all the slaves within a partic State, thus working manumission in such State; and in souri, perhaps in Western Virginia also, and possibly eve Maryland, the expediency of such a measure is only a ques of time.

A system of policy thus constitutional and conserva and pervaded by the influences of Christianity and freed would receive the support of almost all truly loyal men, wi deeply impress the rebel masses and all foreign nations, it might be humbly hoped that it would commend itself to favor of the Almighty.

Unless the principles governing the future conduct of struggle shall be made known and approved, the effort to ob requisite forces will be almost hopeless. A declaration of cal views, especially upon slavery, will rapidly disinteg our present armies.

The policy of the Government must be supported by con tration of military power. The national forces should n dispersed in expeditions, posts of occupation, and nume armies, but should be mainly collected in masses, and brou to bear upon the armies of the Confederate States. T armies thoroughly defeated, the political structure which support will soon cease to exist.

In carrying out any system of policy which you may a you will require a commander-in-chief of the army—one possesses your confidence, understands your views, and w competent to execute your orders by directing the mil forces of the nation to the accomplishment of the object you proposed. I do not ask that place for myself. I am willing to serve you in such position as you may assign me, I will do so as faithfully as ever subordinate served super

I may be on the brink of eternity, and, as I hope for for

ss from my Maker, I have written this letter with sincerity
var l you and from love of my country.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. B. McCLELLAN,
Major-General Commanding.

This was written just after the battle of Malvern Hills left
cClellan master of his situation, after having changed his
se from the Chickahominy to the James river. Two days
erwards, on the 9th, President Lincoln visited the General's
mp on the Peninsula, and, after consultation, on the 11th
neral Halleck was appointed General-in-Chief, who, on the
of August, ordered the evacuation of the Peninsula. Have
e reached any nearer to Richmond now than McClellan was
ore than two years ago?

ORATION OF GENERAL McCLELLAN,

DELIVERED AT THE DEDICATION OF THE SITE FOR THE BATTLE MONUMENT AT WEST POINT ON THE 15TH OF JUNE, 1864.

All nations have days sacred to the remembrance of joy and
grief. They have thanksgiving for success; fastings and
ayers in the hour of humiliation and defeat; triumphs and
eans to greet the living, laurel-crowned victor. They have
sequies and eulogies for the warrior slain on the field of bat-
e. Such is the duty we are to perform to-day. The poetry,
c histories, the orations of antiquity, all resound with the
ang of arms; they dwell rather upon rough deeds of war
an the gentle arts of peace. They have preserved to us the
mes of heroes and the memory of their deeds even to this
stant day. Our own Old Testament teems with the narra-
ns of the brave actions and heroic deaths of Jewish patriots;
hile the New Testament of our meek and suffering Saviour
ten selects the soldier and his weapons to typify and illus-
ate religious heroism and duty. These stories of the actions
the dead have frequently survived, in the lapse of ages, the
mes of those whose fall was thus commemorated centuries
go. But, although we know not now the names of all the
ave men who fought and fell upon the plains of Marathon,
the pass of Thermopylæ, and on the hills of Palestine, we
ve not lost the memory of their examples. As long as the
arm blood courses in the veins of man; as long as the human
art beats high and quick at the recital of brave deeds and
triotic sacrifices, so long will the lesson still invite generous
en to emulate the heroism of the past. Among the Greeks
was the custom that the fathers of the most valiant of the

slain should pronounce the eulogies of the dead. Sometime it devolved upon their great statesmen and orators to perform this mournful duty. Would that a Demosthenes, or a second Pericles could rise and take my place to-day, for he would find a theme worthy of his most brilliant powers, of his most touching eloquence.

I stand here now, not as an orator, but as the whilom commander, and in the place of the fathers of the most valiant dead; as their comrade, too, on many a hard fought field against domestic and foreign foes—in early youth and maturer manhood—moved by all the love that David felt when he poured forth his lamentation for the mighty father and son who fell on Gilboa. God knows that David's love for Jonathan was no more deep than mine for the tried friends of many long and eventful years, whose names are to be recorded upon the structure that is to rise upon this spot. Would that more than mortal eloquence could grace my lips, and do justice to the theme!

We have met to-day, my comrades, to do honor to our own dead—brothers united to us by the closest and dearest ties—who have freely given their lives for their country in this war—so just and righteous so long as its purpose is to crush rebellion and to save our nation from the infinite evils of dismemberment. Such an occasion as this should call forth the deepest and noblest emotions of our nature—pride, sorrow, and prayer. Pride, that our country has possessed such sons; sorrow, that she has lost them; prayer, that she may have others like them; that we and our successors may adorn her annals as they have done; and that when our parting hour arrives, whenever and however it may be, our souls may be prepared for the great change.

We have assembled to commemorate a cenotaph which shall remind our children's children in the distant future of their father's struggles in the days of the great rebellion. This monument is to perpetuate the memory of a portion only of those who have fallen for the nation in this unhappy war; it is dedicated to the officers and soldiers of the regular army. Yet this is done in no class or exclusive spirit, and in the act we remember with reverence and love our comrades of the volunteers who have so gloriously fought and fallen by our sides.

Each State will, no doubt, commemorate in some fitting way the services of its sons who abandoned the avocations of peace and shed their blood in the ranks—will receive some memento of a nation's love, a nation's gratitude. With what heroism they have confronted death, have wrested victory from a stubborn foe, and have illustrated defeat, it well becomes me to say, for it has been my lot to command them on many a sanguinary field. I know that I but echo the feelings of the

regulars when I award the high credit they deserve to their brave brothers of the volunteers.

But we of the regular army have no States to look to for the honors due our dead. We belong to the whole country. We can neither expect nor desire the General Government to make, perhaps, an invidious distinction in our favor. We are few in numbers, a small band of comrades, united by peculiar and very binding ties. For, with many of us, our friendships were commenced in boyhood, when we rested beneath the shadow of the granite hills which looked down upon us where we stand; with others the ties of brotherhood were formed in more mature years—while fighting amid the rugged mountains and fertile valleys of Mexico—within hearing of the eternal waves of the Pacific—or in the lonely grandeur of the great plains of the far West. With all, our love and confidence has been cemented by common dangers and sufferings—on the toilsome march, in the bivouac, and amid the clash of arms and the presence of death on scores of battle-fields. West Point, with her large heart, adopted us all—graduates, and those appointed from civil life—officers and privates. In her eyes we are all her children, jealous of her fame, eager to sustain her world-wide reputation. Generals and private soldiers, men who have cheerfully offered their all for our dear country, we stand here before this shrine, ever hereafter sacred to our dead, equals and brothers in the presence of the common death which awaits us all—perhaps in the same field and at the same hour. Such are the ties which unite us—the most endearing that exist among men; such the relations which bind us together—the closest of the sacred brotherhood of arms. It has therefore seemed, and it is fitting, that we should erect upon this spot, sacred to us all, an enduring monument to our dear brothers who have preceded us on the path of peril and of honor which it is the destiny of many of us some day to tread.

What is this regular army to which we belong?

Who were the men whose death merits such honors from the living?

What is the cause for which they have laid down their lives?

Our regular or permanent army is the nucleus which in time of peace preserves the military traditions of the nation, as well as the organization, science, and instruction indispensable to modern armies. It may be regarded as coeval with the nation. It derives its origin from the old Continental and State lines of the Revolution, whence, with some interruptions and many changes, it has attained its present condition. In fact, we may with propriety go even beyond the Revolution to seek the roots of our genealogical tree in the old French wars; for the cis-Atlantic campaigns of the seven years' war were not confined to the "red men scalping each other by the great lakes of North America," and it was in them that our ancestors first participated as Americans in the large opera-

tions of civilized armies. American regiments then fought on the banks of the St. Lawrence and the Ohio, on the shores of Ontario and Lake George, in the islands of the Caribbean, and in South America. Louisburg, Quebec, Duquesne, the Moro and Porto Bello attest the valor of the provincial troops, and in that school were educated such soldiers as Washington, Putnam, Lee, Montgomery, and Gates. These, and men like Greene, Knox, Wayne, and Steuben, were the fathers of our permanent army, and under them our troops acquired that discipline and steadiness which enabled them to meet upon equal terms, and often to defeat, the tried veterans of England. The study of the history of the Revolution and a perusal of the dispatches of Washington, will convince the most skeptical of the value of the permanent army in achieving our independence, and establishing the civil edifice which we are now fighting to preserve. The war of 1812 found the army on a footing far from adequate to the emergency; but it was rapidly increased, and of the new generation of soldiers, many were found equal to the requirements of the occasion. Lundy's Lane, Chippewa, Queenstown, Plattsburg, New Orleans, all bear witness to the gallantry of the regulars. Then came an interval of more than thirty years of external peace, marked by many changes in the organization and strength of the regular army, and broken at times by tedious and bloody Indian wars. Of these the most remarkable were the Black Hawk war, in which our troops met unflinchingly a foe as relentless and far more destructive than the Indians—that terrible scourge, the cholera—and the tedious Florida war, where, for so many years, the Seminoles eluded in their pestilential swamps our utmost efforts, and in which were displayed such traits of heroism as that commemorated by yonder monument to Dade and his command, when "all fell save two, without an attempt to retreat." At last came the Mexican war to replace Indian contests and the monotony of frontier service, and for the first time in many years the mass of the regular army was concentrated, and took the principal part in the battles of that remarkable and romantic war. Palo Alto, Resaca, and Fort Brown were the achievements of the regulars, unaided; and as to the battles of Monterey, Buena Vista, Vera Cruz, Cerra Gordo, and the final triumphs in the valley, none can truly say that they could have been won without the aid of the regulars. When peace crowned our victories in the capital of the Montezumas, the army was at once dispersed over the long frontier, and engaged in harassing and dangerous wars with the Indians of the plains. Thus thirteen long years were spent, until the present war broke out, and the mass of the army was drawn in to be employed against a domestic foe.

I cannot proceed to the events of the recent past and the present without adverting to the gallant men who were so long

of our number, but have now gone to their last home; for no small portion of the glory of which we boast was expected from such men as Taylor, Worth, Brady, Brooks, Totten, and Duncan.

There is a sad story of Venetian history that has moved many a heart, and often employed the poet's pen and the painter's pencil. It is of an old man whose long life was gloriously spent in the service of the State as a warrior and a statesman, and who, when his hair was white and his feeble limbs could scarce carry his bent form toward the grave, attained the highest honor that a Venetian citizen could reach.

He was Doge of Venice. Convicted of treason against the State, he not only lost his life but suffered besides a penalty which will endure as long as the name of Venice is remembered. The spot where his portrait should have hung in the great hall of the Doge's palace was veiled with black, and there still the frame remains with its black mass of canvas; and this vacant frame is the most conspicuous in the long line of effigies of illustrious Doges! Oh, that such a pall as that which replaces the portrait of Maurino Faliero could conceal from history the names of those, once our comrades, who are now in arms against the flag under which we fought side by side in years gone by. But no veil, however thick, can cover the anguish that fills our hearts when we look back upon the sad memory of the past, and recall the affection and respect we entertained toward men against whom it is now our duty to act in mortal combat. Would that the courage, ability, and steadfastness they display had been employed in the defense of the stars and stripes against a foreign foe, rather than in this fatuitous and unjustifiable rebellion, which could not have been so long maintained but for the skill and energy of these, our former comrades.

But we have reason to rejoice that upon this day, so sacred and eventful for us, one grand old mortal monument of the past still lifts high his head among us, and should have graced by his presence the consecration of this tomb by his children. We may well be proud that we are here commanded by the hero who purchased victory with his blood near the great waters of Niagara; who repeated and eclipsed the achievements of Cortes; who, although a consummate and confident commander, ever preferred, when duty and honor would permit, the olive branch of peace to the blood-stained laurels of war; and who stands at the close of a long, glorious, and eventful life, a living column of granite, against which have beaten alike the blandishments and storms of treason. His name will ever be one of our proudest boasts and most moving inspirations.

In long distant ages, when this incipient monument has become venerable, moss-clad, and perhaps ruinous; when the names inscribed upon it shall seem to those who pause to read

them indistinct mementoes of an almost mythical past, the name of Winfield Scott will still be clear cut upon the memory of all, like the still fresh carving upon the monuments of long-forgotten Pharoahs.

But it is time to approach the present. In the war which now shakes the land to its foundation the regular army has borne a most honorable part. Too few in numbers to act by themselves, regular regiments have participated in every great battle in the East, and most of those west of the Alleghanies. Their terrible losses and diminished numbers prove that they have been in the thickest of the fight, and the testimony of their comrades and commanders show with what undaunted heroism they have upheld their ancient renown. Their vigorous charges have often won the day, and in defeat they have more than once saved the army from destruction or terrible losses by the obstinacy with which they resisted overpowering numbers. They can refer with pride to the part they played upon the glorious fields of Mexico, and exult at the recollection of what they did at Manassas, Gaines's Mills, Malvern, Antietam, Shiloh, Stone River, Gettysburg, and the great battles just fought from the Rapid Ann to the Chickahominy. They can point also to the officers who have risen from among them and achieved great deeds for their country in this war, to the living warriors whose names are upon the nation's tongue and heart, too numerous to be repeated here, yet not one of whom I would willingly omit. But perhaps the proudest episode in the history of the regular army is that touching instance of fidelity on the part of the non-commissioned officers and privates, who, traitorously made prisoners in Texas, resisted every temptation to violate their oath and desert their flag. Offered commissions in the rebel service, money and land freely tendered them, they all scorned the inducements held out to them, submitted to their hardships, and, when at last exchanged, avenged themselves on the field of battle for the unavailing insult offered their integrity. History affords no brighter example of honor than that of these brave men, tempted, as I blush to say they were, by some of their former officers, who, having themselves proved false to their flag, endeavored to seduce the men who followed them in combat, and who had regarded them with respect and love.

Such is the regular army; such its history and antecedents; such its officers and its men. It needs no herald to trumpet forth its praises. It can proudly appeal to the numerous fields from the tropics to the frozen banks of the St. Lawrence; from the Atlantic to the Pacific, fertilized by the blood, and whitened by the bones, of its members. But I will not pause to eulogize it; let its deeds speak for it; they are more eloquent than tongue of mine.

Why are we here to-day? This is not the funeral of one brave warrior, nor even of the harvest of death on a single battle-

field; but these are the obsequies of the best and bravest children of the land, who have fallen in actions almost numberless, many of them the most sanguinary of which history bears record. The men whose names and deeds we now seek to perpetuate, to render them the highest honor in our power, have fallen wherever armed rebellion showed its front, in the far distant New Mexico, the broad Valley of the Mississippi, on the bloody hunting grounds of Kentucky, in the mountains of Tennessee, amid the swamps of Carolina, and on the fertile fields of Maryland, and in the blood-stained thickets of Virginia. They were of all grades, from the general to the private; of all ages, from the gray-haired veteran of fifty years' service to the beardless youth; and of all degrees of cultivation, from the man of science to the uneducated boy. It is not necessary, nor is it possible, to repeat the mournful yet illustrious roll of the dead heroes we have met to honor, nor must I name all those who most merit praise; simply a few who will exemplify the classes to which they belong.

Among the last of the slain, and among the first in honor and reputation, was that hero of twenty battles, John Sedgwick. Gentle and kind as a woman; brave as a brave man can be; honest, sincere, and able; a model that all may strive to imitate, but whom few can equal. In the terrible battle which just preceded his death he had occasion to display the highest qualities of the soldier and commander. After escaping the stroke of death when men fell around him by thousands, he at last met his fate at a moment of comparative quiet by the ball of a single rifleman. He died as a soldier chooses to die, with truth at his heart and a sweet, tranquil smile upon his lips. Alas! our great nation possesses few sons like true John Sedgwick.

Like him fell, too, at the very head of their corps, the white-haired Mansfield, after a career of usefulness, illustrated by his skill and cool courage at Fort Brown, Monterey, and Buena Vista; John F. Reynolds and Reno, both in the full vigor of manhood and intellect, men who have proved their ability and chivalry in many a field in Mexico and in this civil war, gallant gentlemen, of whom their country had much to hope, had it pleased God to spare their lives. Lyon fell in the prime of life, leading his little army against superior numbers, his brief career affording a brilliant example of patriotism and ability. The impetuous Kearney, and such brave generals as Richardson, Williams, Terrill, Stevens, Weed, Saunders, and Hayes lost their lives while in the midst of a career of usefulness. Young Bayard, so like the most renowned of his name, that "knight above fear and above reproach," was cut off too early for his country. No regiments can spare such gallant, devoted, and able commanders as Rossell, Davis, Gore, Simmons, Bailey, Putnam, and Kingsbury, all of whom fell in the thickest of the contest, some of them veterans, others young in

service—all good men and well beloved. Our batteries have partially paid their terrible debt to fate in the loss of such commanders as Greble (the first to fall in the war), Benson, Haggard, Swead, Dr. Hart, Hazlett, and those gallant boys, Kirby, Woodruff, Dimick, and Cushing; while the engineers lament the promising and gallant Wagner and Cross. Beneath remote battle-fields rest the corpses of the heroic McRae, Bascom, Stone, Sweet, and many other company officers. Besides these, there are hosts of veteran sergeants, corporals, and privates who fought under Scott in Mexico, or contested with the savages of the far West and Florida; and mingled with them young soldiers who courageous, steady, and true, met death unflinchingly, without the hope of personal glory. These men, in their more humble spheres, served their country with as much faith and honor as the most illustrious generals, and all of them with perfect singleness of heart. Although their names may not live in the page of history, their actions, loyalty, and courage will. Their memories will long be preserved in their regiments, for there were many of them who merited as proud a distinction as that accorded to "the first grenadier of France," or to that other Russian soldier who gave his life for his comrades.

But there is another class of men who have gone from us since this war commenced, whose fate it was not to die in battle; but who are none the less entitled to be mentioned here. There was Sumner, a brave, honest, chivalrous veteran, of more than half a century's service, who had confronted death unflinchingly on scores of battle-fields, had shown his gray head, serene and cheerful, where death most reveled, who more than once told me that he believed and hoped that his long career would end amid the din of battle. He died at home from the effects of the hardships of the leadership of his campaigns. That most excellent soldier, the elegant C. F. Smith, whom many of us remember to have been so often on this very plain, with his superb bearing, escaped the bullet to fall a victim to the disease which has deprived the army of so many of its best soldiers. John Buford, cool and intrepid; Mitchell, eminent in science; Palmer, and many other officers, have lost their lives by sickness contracted in the field. But I cannot close this long list of glorious martyrs without paying a sacred debt of official duty and personal friendship. There is one dead soldier who possessed peculiar claims upon my love and gratitude; he was an ardent patriot, an unselfish man, a true soldier, the beau-ideal of a staff officer—he was my aid-de-camp, Colonel Colburn. There is a lesson to be drawn from the death and services of these glorious men, which we should read for the present and future benefit of the nation.

War in these modern days is a science, and it should now appear to the most prejudiced that the organization and arming

of armies, and the high combination of strategy, perfect familiarity with the theoretical science of war, is requisite. To count upon success when the plans or execution of campaigns are intrusted to men who have no knowledge of war, is as idle as to expect the legal wisdom of a Story or a Kent from a skillful physician.

But what is the honorable and holy cause for which these men have laid down their lives, and for which the nation still demands the sacrifice of the precious blood of so many of her children?

Soon after the close of the Revolutionary war, it was found that the Confederacy which had grown up during that memorable contest, was falling to pieces from its own weight. The central power was too weak. It could recommend to the different States such measures as seemed best, and it possessed no real power to legislate, because it lacked executive power to compel obedience to its laws. The national credit and self-respect had disappeared, and it was feared by the friends of liberty throughout the world that ours was but another added to the long list of fruitless attempts at self-government. The nation was evidently on the brink of ruin and dissolution when some eighty years ago many of the wisest and most patriotic of the land met to seek a remedy for the great evils which threatened to destroy the great work of the revolution. Their sessions were long and often stormy; for a time the most sanguine doubted the possibility of a successful termination of their labors. But from amidst the conflict of sectional interests, of party prejudice and of personal selfishness, the spirit of wisdom and of conciliation at length evoked the Constitution under which we have lived so long. It was not formed in a day; but was the result of practical labor, of lofty wisdom, and of the purest patriotism. It was at last adopted by the people of the States—although by some reluctantly—not as being exactly what all desired, but the best possible under the circumstances.

It was accepted as giving us a form of government under which the nation might live happily and prosper, so long as the people should continue to be influenced by the same sentiments which actuated those who formed it; and which would not be liable to destruction from internal causes, so long as the people preserved the recollection of the miseries and calamities which led to its adoption. Under this beneficial Constitution the progress of the nation was unsurpassed in history. The rights and liberties of its citizens were secured at home and abroad; vast territories were rescued from the control of the savage and the wild beasts, and added to the domain of the Union and civilization. The arts, the sciences, and commerce grew apace; our flag floated upon every sea, and we took our place among the great nations of the earth. But under this smooth surface of prosperity upon which we glided swiftly, with all the

sails set before the common breeze, dangerous reefs were hidden which now and then caused ripples upon the surface, and made anxious the more careful pilots. Elated by success, the ship swept on—the crew, not heeding the warnings they received, forgetful of the dangers escaped at the beginning of the voyage, and blind to the hideous malestrom which gaped to receive them. The same elements of discord, sectional prejudices, interests, and institutions which had rendered the formation of the Constitution so difficult, threatened more than once to destroy it. But for a long time the nation was so fortunate as to possess a series of political leaders, who, to the highest abilities, united the same spirit of conciliation which animated the founders of this republic, and thus for many years the threatened evils were averted. Time and the long continuance of good fortune obliterated the recollection of the calamities of years preceding the adoption of the Constitution. They forgot that conciliation, common interests, and mutual charity had been the foundation, and must be the support of our Government and all the relations of life. At length men appeared with abuse, sectional and personal prejudices, and interests outweighing all considerations of the general good. Extremists of one section furnished the occasion, eagerly seized as a pretext by equally extreme men in the other, for abandoning the pacific remedies afforded by the Constitution. Stripped of all sophistry and side issues, the direct cause of the war as it presented itself to the honest and patriotic citizens of the North was simply this:

Certain States, or rather a portion of the inhabitants of certain States, feared, or professed to fear, that injury would result to their rights and property from the elevation of a particular party to power. Although the Constitution and the actual condition of the Government provided them with a peaceful and sure protection against the apprehended evil, they prepared to seek security in the destruction of the Government which could protect them, and in the use of force against national troops holding a national fortress. To efface the insult offered to our flag, to save ourselves from the fate of th divided republics of Italy and South America, to preserve our Government from destruction, to enforce its just power and laws, to maintain our very existence as a nation—these were the causes which impelled us to draw the sword. Rebellion against a government like ours, which contains within itself the means of self-adjustment and a pacific remedy for evils, should never be confounded with a revolution against despotic power, which refuses redress of wrongs. Such a rebellion cannot be justified upon ethical grounds, and the only alternatives for our choice are its suppression or the destruction of our nationality.

At such a time as this, and in such a struggle, political partisanship should be merged in a true and brave patriotism,

which thinks only of the good of the whole country. It was in this cause and with these motives that so many of our comrades have given their lives, and to this we are all personally pledged in all honor and fidelity. Shall such devotion as that of our dead comrades be of no avail? Shall it be said in after ages that we lacked the vigor to complete the work thus begun? That after all these noble lives freely given, we hesitated and failed to keep straight on until our land was saved? Forbid it Heaven, and give us firmer, truer hearts than that.

Oh! spirits of the valiant dead, souls of our slain heroes, lend us your indomitable will, and if it be permitted you to commune with those still chained by the trammels of mortality, hover around us in the midst of danger and tribulation—cheer the firm, strengthen the weak, that none may doubt the salvation of the republic and the triumph of our grand old flag.

In the midst of the storms which toss our ship of State, there is one great beacon light to which we can ever turn with confidence and hope. It cannot be that this great nation has played its part in history; it cannot be that our sun, which arose with such bright promise for the future, has already set forever. It must be the intention of the overruling Deity that this land, so long the asylum of the oppressed, the refuge of civil and religious liberty, shall again stand forth in bright relief, united, purified, and chastened by our trials, as an example and encouragement for those who desire the progress of the human race. It is not given to our weak intellects to understand the steps of Providence as they occur; we comprehend them only as we look back upon them in the far distant past; so it is now. We cannot unravel the seemingly tangled skein of the purposes of the Creator—they are too high and far-reaching for our limited minds. But all history and His own revealed word teach us that His ways, although inscrutable, are ever righteous. Let us, then, honestly and manfully play our parts, seek to understand and perform our whole duty, and trust unwaveringly in the beneficent God who led our ancestors across the sea and sustained them afterward amid dangers more appalling even than those encountered by His own chosen people in their great exodus.

He did not bring us here in vain, nor has He supported us thus far for nought.

If we do our duty and trust in Him, He will not desert us in our need. Firm in our faith that God will save our country, we now dedicate this site to the memory of brave men, to loyalty, patriotism, and honor.

SPEECH OF GEN. McCLELLAN AT LAKE GEORGE.

We take the following account from the New York Tribune:

LAKE GEORGE, June 26, 1864.

Major-General McClellan was serenaded last night at the Fort William Henry Hotel, and made his appearance on the balcony amid cheers. Order having been restored, he was introduced to the large assemblage by Judge Brown, and spoke as follows:

"I thank you, my friends, for this welcome and pleasing evidence of your regard. It is a most happy termination of the delightful week I have passed in the midst of this beautiful region, among such warm and friendly hearts. When men come, as some of you have done, many miles from the mountains and valleys, it means something more than empty compliment or idle curiosity. At all events, I so regard it; I understand this sudden gathering of men, who are in truth the strength of the nation, as intended to show your love and gratitude to the gallant men who have so long fought under my command, and as an evidence to any who may dare to doubt, whether abroad, at home, or in the rebellious States, that the people of this portion of the country intend to support to the last the Union of our great nation, the sacredness of its Constitution and laws, against whoever may attack them. I do not flatter myself that this kind of demonstration is a mark of personal regard to me, but that it means far more than that. You add to the cogent arguments afforded by the deeds of your sons and brothers in the field the sanction and weight of your opinions in favor of the justice and vital importance of the real cause for which we are fighting, and the cause which should never be perverted nor lost sight of. It has been my good fortune to have had near me in very trying times many of your near relations. In truth, there must be among you now men who went with me through the memorable seven days of battle that commenced just two years ago to-day. It is only just that I should thank you now for the valor and patriotism of your sons and brothers who were with me in the Army of the Potomac from Yorktown to Antietam. Yet how could they be other than brave and patriotic, for they first saw the light amid scenes classical in our earliest history, and sprung from ancestors who won and held their mountains in hundreds of combats against the Indians, the French, and the English.

"After the gallant defense of the now-ruined ramparts of William Henry, the blood of many of your grandsires moistened the very ground on which you now stand in a butchery permitted by the cruel apathy of Montcalm, who, two years afterward, suffered for his crimes in the great battle under the walls of Quebec, where others of your ancestors bore a most honorable part. Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Saratoga, are all

names made sacred to you by the bravery of your fathers who made illustrious the name of American troops.

"In this latter and more dreadful war you and yours have proved worthy of the reputation of your predecessors. And whatever sacrifices may yet be necessary, I am confident that you will never consent willingly to be citizens of a divided and degraded nation, but that you will so support the actions of your fellow-countrymen in the field that we shall be victorious, and again have peace and a reunited country; when the hearts of the North and South shall again beat in unison as they did in the good old times of the Revolution, when our Union and Constitution shall be as firm as the mountains which encircle this lovely lake, and the future of the republic shall be as serene as the waters of Horicon when no breeze ripples its surface."

COLONEL FRANK WOLFORD—A STATEMENT.

Colonel Wolford, as our readers will remember, was arrested on the twenty-seventh of June last by the order of Mr. Lincoln, and sent under guard to the city of Washington. The arrest was arbitrary in the fullest sense of the word. No charge was made and no explanation was given.

On arriving at Washington, Colonel Wolford accepted the following parole:

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DISTRICT OF WASHINGTON,
PROVOST MARSHAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 1, 1864.

I, the undersigned, give my solemn parole of honor that I will not leave the city of Washington without permission from the War Department, and that in the mean time I will do no act hostile or injurious to the government of the United States.

FRANK WOLFORD.

After the lapse of a week, Colonel Wolford accepted from the President the parole which follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 7, 1864.

I hereby give my parole of honor, that, if allowed, I will forthwith proceed to Louisville, Kentucky, and there remain, until the court for my trial shall arrive, when I will report myself to charge, and that in the mean time I will abstain from public speaking, and everything intended or calculated to produce excitement. FRANK WOLFORD.

Upon this parole the President wrote the following indorsement:

Colonel Wolford is allowed to go on the above conditions.
A. LINCOLN.

Colonel Wolford accordingly came to this city, arriving here on the tenth of July, bringing with him the subjoined paper, which he received from the Judge Advocate at Washington:

CHARGES AND SPECIFICATIONS AGAINST FRANK WOLFORD, CITIZEN.

Charge I. Aiding the enemies of the country by the public expression of disloyal sentiments, in violation of General Order, No. 38, of Headquarters Department of the Ohio, of April 13, 1863.

Specification. In this, that Frank Wolford, a citizen of the State of Kentucky, and recently a Colonel in the Army of the United States, in a public speech addressed by him on or about the 28th day of May, 1864, to a large assemblage of citizens of Kentucky, and others at Lebanon, Kentucky, a State in the military Department of the Ohio, within the lines of the Army of the United States, and at that time the theater of military operations on the part of the Government of the United States against the public enemy, did declare in their presence and hearing as follows or in words to the following effect, namely: That the present President of the United States was a tyrant, a usurper, and a fool. That his (the President's) policy had added 200,000 men to the rebel army, stopped volunteering at the North, promoted it in the South, struck down civil liberty everywhere, and transformed the whole country under his control into an infernal inquisition. That under his administration the *morale* and discipline of the army had been degraded. That the appointees of the President were reeking in corruption, and, like the President, their master, had not thought of their country's good for two long bloody years; that President Lincoln was as great an enemy to the country as Davis (meaning Jefferson Davis, the President of the so-called Southern Confederacy); that to take the alternative of Lincoln (meaning President Abraham Lincoln), or said Davis, was like being crucified between two thieves; that if President Lincoln was not defeated in the next election, the country was gone; and in that, further, he denounced and abused the President of the United States for summarily dismissing him (Wolford) from the service as a disloyal person, and declared that the President's order of dismissal contained a vile slander; and in that, further, he denounced the policy of negro enlistments, and declared that they were unlawful and disgraceful; besides also using many other expressions of the same disloyal character, all the said sentiments and expressions so declared and spoken by him being calculated to give aid, comfort, and encouragement to the enemy and to those in sympathy with

them, and did in fact give such aid, comfort, and encouragement by exciting a spirit of resistance to the laws of the United States and by impairing the power of the Government of the United States in the suppression of the existing rebellion.

Charge II. Discouraging, denouncing, and opposing the enlistment of colored troops.

Specification. In this, that Frank Wolford, a citizen of the State of Kentucky, and recently a Colonel in the Army of the United States, in a public speech addressed by him on or about the 28th day of May, 1864, to a large assemblage of citizens of Kentucky and others, at Lebanon, Kentucky, a State in the military Department of the Ohio, within the lines of the Army of the United States, and at that time the theater of military operations on the part of the Government of the United States against the public enemy, did declare, in their presence and hearing, as follows, or in words to the following effect, namely: That the enlistment of colored or negro troops was against law, contrary to the usages of war, and disgraceful, both to the officers engaged in it and to the people; that the office for recruiting negroes established at said Lebanon by officers representing the United States Government was a disgrace; that the Provost Marshal of the District, in promoting the enlistment of negroes, was acting without law and contrary to good order; and in that, further, he spoke in contemptuous language of negro soldiers, and vehemently denounced the President and the Government of the United States for the employment of negro troops; all which sentiments and language so used and expressed by him were calculated and disloyally intended to excite the populace to resist the enlistment of negro troops, to deter negroes from enlistment through fear of personal danger, and to endanger the lives and liberty of officers of the United States engaged in recruiting colored troops, as well as to discourage Union citizens, and give aid, comfort, and encouragement to the enemy and those in sympathy with them.

(Signed) JOHN A. FOSTER,

Colonel and Judge Advocate Special Military Commission.

Witnesses: JAMES M. FIDLER, Captain and Provost Marshal; JOSEPH ODELL, W. K. YOUNG.

A fortnight or thereabouts elapsed, during which Colonel Wolford waited in vain for the arrival of the promised court, when he received from Mr. Lincoln the note we give below:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 17, 1864.

COLONEL FRANK WOLFORD—*My Dear Sir:* By this mail I send to Hon. James Speed a blank parole in duplicate, which, if you choose, you can sign, and be discharged. He will call upon you. I inclose a printed copy of the letter

I read to you the last day you were with me, and which I shall be pleased for you to look over.

Very respectfully, A. LINCOLN.

The blank parole mentioned in this note was as follows:

JULY, 1864.

I hereby pledge my honor that I will neither do or say anything which will, directly or indirectly, tend to hinder, delay, or embarrass the employment and use of colored persons as soldiers, seamen, or otherwise, in the suppression of the existing rebellion, so long as the United States Government chooses to so employ and use them.

This document in blank bore the following indorsement:

Colonel Frank Wolford is discharged from his parole given me July 7, 1864, and allowed to go at large upon the conditions of the parole by him signed on the other side of this paper.

July, 1864. A. LINCOLN.

As Colonel Wolford was on the point of mailing his answer to this proposition, he received the following order from the Judge Advocate, through the Acting Assistant Provost Marshal General for Kentucky:

LOUISVILLE, KY., August 3, 1864.

FRANK WOLFORD, *U. S. Hotel, Louisville:*

SIR: I have received by telegraph this evening, with request to serve the same upon you, the following notice, viz:

ROOMS MILITARY COMMISSON, WASHINGTON, August 3, 1864.

FRANK WOLFORD, ESQ.—*Dear Sir:* You are required to report to me immediately in Washington, D. C., to be tried before a Military Commission convened by special order No. 41, War Department, upon the charges heretofore served upon you.

Yours, JOHN A. FOSTER,
Colonel and Judge Advocate.

[True copy.] Special Military Commission.

Please take notice of this as service required.

I am, respectfully, your servant,

W. H. SIDELL,
Major 15th U. S. Infantry, A. A. P. M. G. for Kentucky.

Whereupon Colonel Wolford addressed the following dispatch to the President:

LOUISVILLE, August 3, 1864.

To the President of the United States—

SIR: The Judge Advocate has notified me to report immediately to him at Washington to be tried before a military commission convened in that city. As this is inconsistent with the parole I gave you, and which I have scrupulously kept, I desire to know what I shall do. Can I not be tried in Louisville according to your promise? Please answer.

FRANK WOLFORD.

To this dispatch the President returned the following reply:

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 4, 1864.

To Colonel Frank Wolford, Louisville, Kentucky:

Yours of yesterday received. Before interfering with the Judge Advocate General's order, I should know his reasons for making it. Meanwhile, if you have not already started, wait till you hear from me again.

Did you receive letter and inclosure from me?

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President U. S.

This dispatch Colonel Wolford acknowledged in the dispatch which follows:

LOUISVILLE, KY., August 5, 1864.

To the President of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

I duly received your letter, and was on the point of mailing my answer when the order of the Judge Advocate came. My answer is now on the way to you.

FRANK WOLFORD.

The answer of Colonel Wolford to Mr. Lincoln's letter and inclosure we subjoin in full, premising that the inclosure was Mr. Lincoln's letter to Mr. Hodges:

LOUISVILLE, KY., July 30, 1864.

To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States:

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, proposing to me a discharge from an arrest in many ways vexatious and inconvenient, upon my signing a parole, whereby I am to pledge my honor that I will neither do nor say anything which will either directly or indirectly tend to hinder, delay, or embarrass the employment and use of colored persons as soldiers, seamen, or otherwise, in the suppression of the rebellion, so long as the United States Government chooses so to employ and use them.

In answer to this proposal, I have frankly to say that I cannot bargain for my liberty and the exercise of my rights as a freeman on any such terms. I have committed no crime. I have broken no law of my country or of my State. I have not violated any military order or any of the usages of war. No act or word of mine has ever given encouragement to the enemy. I have no sympathy with the rebellion. All my sympathies are with and all my hopes are for my country. The triumph of the national arms, the preservation of the Union, the maintenance of the Constitution, the restoration of the supremacy of the law over all the States, and the perpetuation of civil and religious liberty, are the objects most dear to my heart.

I may say without presumption that I have done more to enlist white men in the army of the Union than any other man in the State of Kentucky. I have done nothing to hinder the

enlistment even of negroes; because I do not associate with them, and have no influence over them.

You, Mr. President, if you will excuse the bluntness of a soldier, by an exercise of arbitrary power, have caused me to be arrested and held in confinement contrary to law—not for the good of our common country, but to increase the chances of your election to the Presidency and otherwise to serve the purposes of the political party whose candidate you are—and now you ask me to stultify myself, by signing a pledge whereby I shall virtually admit your right to arrest me, and virtually support you in deterring other men from criticising the policy of your administration.

No, sir, much as I love liberty, I will fester in a prison, or die on a gibbet, before I will agree to any terms that do not abandon all charges against me, and fully acknowledge my innocence. Since you have taken my case into your own hands, Mr. President, let me appeal to your sense of justice, and ask that you will give to what I have to say in my defense a candid hearing, and then do what you shall see fit. And here I trust I shall be pardoned if I speak of myself somewhat more largely than the canons of good taste might seem to warrant; for, as my acts are the subject of the accusation against me, so they are my sole defense. Whether or not they form a triumphant defense, you, sir, shall judge.

On the 10th day of March, 1864, in the city of Lexington, Kentucky, the Union men of Fayette county were pleased to present me with a very fine sword, a pair of valuable pistols, and a pair of spurs. In response to an eloquent presentation speech made by a learned divine, I delivered a Union speech, the leading purpose of which was to promote the recruiting of men for a division of cavalry, which I then had the honor to command, whose ranks had been greatly thinned by heavy losses in battle—the division having just come to Kentucky from the front for the purpose of recruiting, refitting, and remounting. I made a long speech, in which I fully discussed the wickedness of the rebellion, and contrasted the misery and despotism of the so-called Southern Government with the happiness and freedom of our own. In the course of the speech I spoke of your abolition policy, and condemned it. But I insisted that it was the duty of all good citizens to defend their country by fighting the rebellion, whether they approved the course pursued by the administration or not. For the true character of this speech, I refer you to the statements of M. C. Johnson and others, which I inclose. The men whose names are subscribed thereto are men of the highest order of intellect, and of the most elevated moral character. The substance of what they say therein can be proved by five hundred ladies and gentlemen.

For this speech I was arrested and sent to Knoxville, in the State of Tennessee, where I remained, without any charges

being preferred against me, until you were induced by some wicked men in Kentucky, who knew that no court-martial could be found that would even censure me for anything said in that speech, to issue an order, founded on a bare rumor, as you yourself informed me, dishonorably dismissing me from the service of the United States, for a violation of the fifth article of war, for disloyalty, and for conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman.

Now, Mr. President, what I wish to call your attention particularly to is the fact that every word contained in this order of dismissal is false; that there is not the least foundation in truth for anything contained in it.

I did not violate the fifth article of war; nor did I ever violate any article of war in my life. It was my duty to study the articles of war, and teach them to my men; and I think I understand them. The only thing I said about you personally was that you had told a great political truth when you said that you had no power under the constitution to interfere with the domestic institutions of the States. I further said that you were the President of the United States, and as such the Commander-in-Chief of the army, which made it my duty to respect your position, and to obey all the legal orders that emanated from you.

Your order charges me with disloyalty. Surely I am not disloyal. I never did a disloyal act, spoke a disloyal word, or thought a disloyal thought, in all my life. Disloyalty is treason, and treason is the highest crime known to the law. The charge of disloyalty should not be lightly made against any officer or citizen. As proof that I am not disloyal, let me set before you a few facts. At the commencement of this war, I opposed the doctrine of neutrality in Kentucky. When Governor Magoffin refused to respond to your call for volunteers, I raised a company on my own responsibility, and held it in readiness for my country's service. Afterwards, by your permission, under the auspices of the lamented Nelson, I raised the first regiment of Kentucky volunteer cavalry, and had it mustered into the service of the United States. I raised this regiment at my own expense, without ever asking the Government to refund the money. I was almost three years in the service, always in front, and always present in the discharge of my duty, although all the time suffering from severe wounds received in battle. I was almost all the time fighting, so that the fights and skirmishes I was in number over three hundred. I was in almost all the fights that were fought in the States of Kentucky and Tennessee. I was in all the chases after Morgan, and was present and second in command when he was captured. In many fights I commanded a regiment, in many others a brigade, and for a long time, and in many fights, a division. For proof that I did my duty in the field and in the camp, and that my command always behaved well and always

fought well, I refer you to Generals Burnside, Shaekleford, Hobson, Sturgis, and Carter. I never made any written reports of the battles I fought, because I seldom had time; besides, I was not seeking fame, and did not desire promotion.

Loving my men from long association with them, I resolved, after I was dismissed, to join my old regiment as a private; but I was so disabled by the wounds I had reeeived in battle that I could not pass the examination of the surgeons. I then thought of going along with my old eomrades at my own expense, but was prevented from doing so by an order. Being thus cut off from doing anything for my eountry in the army, I aecepted the nomination of the Conservative Union Convention as a candidate of that party for the office of eleetor at the next Presidential eleetion, and commenced a eanvass of the State. My first appointment was at Lebanon, on the 28th day of May, 1864, and from there I had a number of appointments filling up the month of June.

On the 26th day of May I received from Governor Bramlette this note:

HEADQUARTERS KENTUCKY VOLUNTEERS,
FRANKFORT, May 26, 1864.

Colonel Frank Wolford:

You are requested to raise a regiment of six months' troops. You will rendezvous at Lebanon.

(Signed) THOS. E. BRAMLETTE,
Governor of Kentueky.

I determined to eomply with his request, and aecordingly filled my appointments for the double purpose of diseharging my duty as an electoral eandidate and of raising the regiment. Thus you see that one of my objeets in making the very spceches on aceount of whieh I am aeeused of diseouraging enlistments, was to enlist troops; and it was not until after I had succeeded in enlisting a full regiment that I was arrested.

Think of it! You charge me with diseouraging enlistments by my speeches, when those very speeches enabled me to raise a regiment for the serviee in shorter time than any regiment was ever raised before in the State of Kentueky. Speaking for recruits, and obtaining them with unpreeedented rapidity, and yet diseouraging enlistments!

But your friends say I did not ask the negro to join me. It is true, I did not. I told the people that I wanted white men, brave men, and honest men; and that I would not receive, if I knew it, a negro, a eoward, or a thief: as I desired to associate with my men, and did not wish to assoeiate with negroes; as I desired to whip the rebels, and wanted brave men with whom to do it; as I desired to eultivate good feelings between the eitizens and the soldiers, and therefore wanted honest men, who had a high appreeiation of private rights, and who would remember that the dwelling of every Amer-

ican citizen is sacred, because it is the castle of a freeman's defense and the home of a sovereign.

In relation to enlisting slaves, I did say that I was opposed to the policy of the act of Congress authorizing it, and doubted its constitutionality; but that it was the duty of the people to make no opposition to it except legal opposition; that they had a right to bring suits and let the judiciary decide the question.

Those speeches were made to white men, not for the purpose of preventing the enlistment of negroes, but one purpose was to allay the excitement of the citizens, and keep down forcible resistance to your measures; and I know that they did much good in that way.

And now, Mr. President, I propose, for every negro that any of your agents can find that has been directly or indirectly influenced by any of my speeches not to join the army, to find you one hundred white men who have been kept out of the army by your proclamations. You have the power; but truth and justice are with me.

I thank you for the printed copy of your letter to Mr. Hodges, which you sent to me with the proffered parole. I have read it carefully, and find in it this remarkable statement: "By general law, life and limb must be protected, yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground, and now avow it." Unless I have been strangely misinstructed, Mr. President, the Constitution is not a limb attached to the government, but is the life of the government. In destroying it, you destroy the bond by which the Union is held together, and take the life of the government. The idea of an unconstitutional policy becoming necessary to preserve the government and save the Constitution, is like the idea of killing a man to save his life, and keep him from dying of disease. You annul the law to make the rebels obey it—disregard the Constitution to make them respect it—break your oath to keep them from breaking it. The framers of the Constitution surely never intended that a President should tamper with his solemn oath, and with that sacred instrument, in such a manner.

Again, you say: "I was in my best judgment driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter." Do you really mean to say that the white citizen soldiers could not whip the rebels, and that, after exhausting all the wisdom, strength, resources, power, and valor of the white man, you failed to save the Union—that, with two millions of able-bodied white men still in re-

serve, you had to force the negroes to fight in order to save the country? If you do, Mr. President, what a compliment you pay to white men in and out of the army! One negro, according to this doctrine, is worth in the army much more than a dozen white men. Do you believe it, sir?

You claim a gain by this policy of one hundred and thirty thousand colored soldiers to the army. Would not two hundred thousand white men have done as well?

You add: "Now let any Union man who complains of this measure, test himself by writing down in one line that he is for subduing the rebellion by force of arms, and in the next that he is for taking one hundred and thirty thousand men from the Union side, and placing them where they would be but for the measure he condemns. If he cannot face his case so stated, it is only because he cannot face the truth."

I am that Union man, and thus I face the case: To place your one hundred and thirty thousand colored men where they would be but for the measure in question, would be to place most of them back into the corn-fields to raise supplies for our army, and to return the remainder of them to their legal owners, making them a monument of the justice, magnanimity, and good faith of our government, being, as they would be, so many living witnesses that you had kept your pledges, while their places in the army would be ten times more than filled by five hundred thousand white men, who but for this measure would have volunteered.

Now, Mr. President, will you test yourself, by writing down on one side of the paper that at the commencement of this war you took an oath to preserve the Constitution, and to see that the laws made in pursuance thereof were faithfully executed; that you pledged yourself to the people that you would carry on the war for the defense of the Union alone, and not in any spirit of conquest or subjugation; that you would not interfere with the rights of the States or with their domestic institutions, with the rights of individuals, or with their private affairs; that the relations of parent and child, guardian and ward, husband and wife, master and servant, should all be respected and remain unchanged by the war; that these pledges strengthened the weak, confirmed the doubtful, fired the patriot's heart with new zeal, and enabled you to command all the available Union strength in the nation; that upon them Congress voted all the men and money that you desired; that soon you had collected by volunteering the purest, noblest, grandest army of intelligent Christian soldiers that ever was seen on the face of the earth; that this grand army, composed of Democrats, Republicans, old-line Whigs, abolitionists, and men of no party, met around the altar of their country, and, standing upon your pledges, sunk the partisan in the patriot, and, in the name of the God of Liberty and of the Union, were marching forward like a band of brothers to victory and to

glory; that your pledges, too, had inspired the Union man inside of the rebel lines with new hope and new life, and made him rejoice in the justice of the government of his fathers; and, finally, that they served to increase division and distraction in the rebel army and among the Southern people, so that great hopes were entertained of a counter-revolution in the South in favor of peace and the Union;—write down these facts on one side, I say, and then, write down on the other side that you changed your mind and violated all these pledges; that you broke the Constitution and your oath to preserve it; that you interfered with the rights of the States and of individuals; that you usurped the power to disturb the relations between master and servant, and issued proclamations freeing the slaves; that you procured the passage by Congress of odious confiscation laws; that you are now trying to change this war into a war of plunder, conquest, and subjugation; that you claim the right to reduce sovereign States into the condition of conquered provinces; that to accomplish these things you have placed the military above the civil authority; that you have instituted a system of arbitrary arrests which has given rise to numerous instances of cruelty and oppression, by dragging innocent men, and, in some instances, even women and children, away from their peaceful homes, to undergo the privations of a prison, in which some of them must die, and all to gratify the private malice of some of your partisan leaders, though I do not pretend to say that wicked men are not sometimes arrested; that you have constituted strange and unconstitutional courts to try citizens, denying them the right of being confronted with their accusers face to face as well as the right of a trial by jury, and denying them the benefit of the law as well as the privilege of having it expounded in their behalf by a learned judge, these strange courts have usurped the power to imprison citizens for life, and even to banish them from their country; that you have declared martial law and denied the right to the writ of habeas corpus in the loyal State of Kentucky, at a time when the civil authority was in full force; that you have permitted military officers in Kentucky to interfere with the freedom of elections by issuing orders stating who shall be allowed to run for office, and who shall be allowed to vote—thus drying up all the fountains of civil liberty, and leaving life and property insecure; and, finally, that the effects of this change of policy have been to drive many original Union men in the South into the rebel army, and to unite the Southern people to such an extent that all hope of a counter-revolution in the South is lost, at least for the present, while so dividing the people of the loyal States that you have fears, which God grant may never be realized! that a revolution will burst forth in the North which may cause you to lose your head, and also cause the Union to be lost in the midst of disorder, blood, and ruin.

If, Mr. President, you can not face your case so stated, it is only because you cannot face the truth.

If you, by persisting in your policy of forcibly abolishing slavery, should cause this war to continue two years longer, it will involve this nation in a debt the amount of which will be twice as much as the value of all the taxable property the nation contains. It will bring over a million of freemen to a bloody end. It will cause cripples and widows and orphans to become so numerous, and crime and violence and blood and misery will increase to such an extent, and your tyranny will have to become so great in carrying out the policy that you have adopted in order to keep down the discontented and wounded spirits that your course will cause to rise up to defy you, that impartial history, in attesting the goodness and severity of God, will write you down the greatest tyrant that ever lived.

But this is an episode, though one to which you have invited me by calling my attention to your letter.

To return to the immediate subject of this answer; if you are not willing to release me without a pledge, then I ask that you will turn me over to the civil authorities, in whose hands I can have a fair and impartial trial by a jury, meet my accusers face to face, and receive the benefit of the law. If you will not do this, send the commission that you promised immediately, so that I may have the thing over. I desire to commence the canvass.

We, the Union men of Kentucky, claim as constitutional rights, alike in time of war and in time of peace, the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, and the freedom of election; and we claim that the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press extend to the unrestricted discussion of the merits and demerits of every candidate for office, yourself among the rest,—to the criticism of your whole course, conduct, and policy, the policy of enlisting slaves not excepted. You must undergo the same tests that are applied to other candidates. If not, our system of free government is a mockery.

Governor Bramlette has issued the proclamation in relation to elections that you desired. Will you now issue the one you promised Mr. Harding and myself, assuring the people of Kentucky of a free election?

Hoping, Mr. President, that peace may speedily be established upon the basis of our glorious Union, and that the Constitution of our fathers, surviving the wounds that you have given it, may become an immortal instrument, living in the minds and hearts of a great and free people for all ages to come, I am, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

FRANK WOLFORD.

Upwards of a week after the mailing of this answer, the Judge Advocate's order above quoted was thus countermanded:

HEADQUARTERS A. A. PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL,
STATE OF KENTUCKY, LOUISVILLE, August 10, 1864.

FRANK WOLFORD, ESQ., U. S. HOTEL, LOUISVILLE—*Colonel:* I have just received the following telegram, of which please take notice, and consider this the countermand required.

Your obedient servant, W. H. SIDELL,
Major 15th U. S. Infantry.

COPY TELEGRAM—EXTRACT.

WASHINGTON, August 10.

Major W. H. Sidell, A. A. P. M. G.:

Captain Foster, J. A., desires the notice served by him on Frank Wolford to be countermanded.

* * * * * * * * * *

JAMES B. FRY, P. M. G.

True copy extract from telegram.

W. H. SIDELL,
Major 15th U. S. Infantry.

In this state the case rested for a month, when Colonel Wolford, hearing nothing further touching the subject from the President or from any other person in authority, addressed the following letter to Mr. Lincoln:

LOUISVILLE, KY., September 12, 1864.

TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—*Sir:* On the 7th of July, 1864, I gave to you a parole in Washington city, in which I agreed to come to this place, and report myself to a court for trial, when it should arrive here. This parole was given on your promise that you would send the court immediately. On the 7th of July you sent another parole for me to sign and be discharged, which I declined, and gave my reasons therefor; since which time I have not heard from you. No court has arrived for me to report to, and I am forced to the conclusion that you intend in this manner to let the matter drop. I would not leave, however, without first notifying you. I shall remain here a few days, during which you can inform me of my mistake, if I am not right in my conclusion. If in that time I do not hear from you, I will consider my parole at an end, and proceed to canvass the State for McClellan, on the principles of free speech, a full discussion, and a free election. If I should leave here without hearing from you, and you should at any future time desire any kind of investigation, a note addressed to my friend Hamilton Pope at this place would reach me in a short time. Hoping always to be prepared for any kind of a trial before any sort of a court, I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

FRANK WOLFORD.

P. S. I sent a copy of the above by mail; but, meeting with an opportunity to send this by a friend, I do so, fearing the

other possibly might not reach you. I am the more satisfied that I was right when I remember that you would not agree for me to go home. a distance of only one hundred miles, to see my children, from whom I had been almost continually absent for a period of three years, because you said the court would be at Louisville in a very few days, and would not wish to be delayed; and that was more than two months ago. If you start any communication to me after the 16th, direct it to Hamilton Pope, who will send it to me, as I expect to leave on that day, if I do not hear from you before.

FRANK WOLFORD.

Louisville, Ky., Sept. 14, 1864.

Having heard nothing from Mr. Lincoln up to the present time, and deeming the obligation of the parole as cancelled at any rate by Mr. Lincoln's violation of the promise upon which the parole was given, Colonel Wolford, considering his parole at an end, in accordance with his notification to the President, left on the 16th for Camp Dick Robinson, the theater of his early efforts in behalf of the Union, where he spoke to the great McClellan ratification meeting on Saturday following.

With this simple documentary statement, we submit the case to the public, whose decision is not likely to be either far wrong or long delayed. We challenge it in behalf of the gallant Wolford not merely with confidence but with pride.

GENERAL McCLELLAN'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

The committee appointed at the Chicago Convention to notify the nominees of their selection met at New York on September 8th, and proceeded to call on General George B. McClellan, in company with a large number of other gentlemen. At this interview he accepted the nomination verbally, and a few hours afterwards sent the following letter to the Hon. Horatio Seymour and his associates in the duty of communicating the proffered honor from the Chicago Convention. The copy is evidently marred by some verbal inaccuracies:

Orange, New Jersey, September 8, 1864.

Gentlemen: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter informing me of my nomination by the Democratic National Convention, recently assembled at Chicago, as the candidate at the next election for the Presidency of the United States. It is unnecessary for me to say to you that this comes

to me unsought. I am happy to know that when the nomination was made the record of my public life was kept in view. The effect of a long and varied service in the army, during war and peace, has been to strengthen and make indelible on my mind and heart the love and reverence for the Union, Constitution, laws, and flag of our country, impressed upon me in early youth. These feelings have thus far guided the course of my life, and must continue to do so until its end.

The existence of more than one government over the region which once owned our flag, is incompatible with the peace, the power, the happiness of the people. The preservation of our Union was the sole avowed object for which the war was commenced. It should have been conducted for that object only, and in accordance with those principles which I took occasion to declare when in active service.

Thus conducted, the work of reconciliation would have been easy, and we might have reaped the benefits of our many victories on land and sea. The Union was originally formed by the existence of a spirit of conciliation and compromise; to restore and preserve it, the same spirit must prevail in our councils and in the hearts of the people. The re-establishment of the Union must continue to be the indispensable condition in any settlement.

So soon as it is clear, or even probable, that our present adversaries are ready for peace upon the basis of the Union, we should exhaust all the resources of statesmanship practiced by civilized nations, and taught by the traditions of the American people, consistent with the honor and interests of the country, to secure such peace, re-establish the Union, and guarantee, for the future, the constitutional rights of every State. The Union is the only condition of peace; we ask no more.

Let me add what I doubt not was, although unexpressed, the sentiment of the convention, as it is of the people they represent, that when any one State is willing to return to the Union, it should be received at once, with a full guarantee of all its constitutional rights. If a frank, earnest, and persistent effort to obtain these objects should fail, the responsibilities for ulterior consequences will fall upon those who remain in arms against the Union, but the Union must be preserved at all hazards. I could not look in the face of my gallant comrades of the army and navy, who served in so many bloody battles, and tell them that their losses and the sacrifice of so many of our slain and wounded brethren had been in vain; that we had abandoned that Union for which we have so often periled our lives. A vast majority of our people, whether in the army and navy or at home, would, as I would, hail with unbounded joy the permanent restoration of peace, on the basis of the Union under the Constitution, without the effusion of another drop of blood. But no peace can be permanent without union.

As to the other subjects presented in the resolutions of the convention, I need only say that I should seek in the Constitution of the United States, and the laws framed in accordance therewith, the rule of my duty and the limitation of executive power, and endeavor to restore economy in public expenditures and re-establish the supremacy of the laws, and by the operation of a more vigorous nationality resume our commanding position among the nations of the earth.

The condition of our finances, the depreciating of the paper money, and the burdens thereby imposed upon labor and capital, and the necessity of a return to a sound system, the right and binding authority of law over the President, the army and people, are subjects of not less vital importance in war than in peace. Believing that the views here expressed are those of the convention and the people you represent, I accept the nomination.

I realize the weight of the responsibility to be borne should the people ratify your choice. Conscious of my own weakness, I can only seek fervently the guidance of the Ruler of the universe, and rely on His all-powerful aid to do my best to restore union and peace to a suffering people, and to establish and guard their liberties and rights.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN.

CHICAGO PLATFORM.

1. *That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution, as the only solid foundation of our strength, security, and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both Northern and Southern.*

2. That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that, after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which under the pretense of a military necessity, or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public would demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States or other peaceable means, *to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.*

3. That the direct interference of the military authorities of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky,

Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware, was a shameful violation of the Constitution, and the repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

4. *That the aim and object of the Democratic party are to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired*, and they hereby declare that they consider the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution; the subversion of the civil by the military law in the States not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; the denial of the right of asylum; the open and avowed disregard of State rights; the employment of unusual test oaths, and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defense, as calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

5. That the shameful disregard by the Administration of its duty in respect to our fellow-citizens who are now, and long have been, prisoners of war in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

6. That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiers of our army and the seamen of our navy, who now are and have been in the field under the flag of their country, and, in the event of its attaining power, they will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic have so nobly earned.

[From the Baltimore Platform.]

Resolved, That, as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of Republican Government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic; and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

Resolved, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and unswerving fidelity to the

Constitution and the principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency, and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve especially the Proclamation of Emancipation and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

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